

Blasphemous Video and Banning of YouTube in Pakistan: Exploring Perception of University and Madāris Students in the Mirror of Uses and Gratification Analysis

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Abstract

The study aimed to explore perceptions of Madāris and university students regarding the ban of YouTube in Pakistan due to uploading and sharing of blasphemous movie Innocence of Muslims in the mirror of uses and gratification approach. It also focused on implication of banning and unblocking of the social networking website by comparing perspectives of religious and mainstream students. In order to investigate the phenomena the Survey methodology was applied for the purpose of the research. The overall results indicated that the University students were in favor of YouTube unblocking while Madāris students categorically expressed concerns over unblocking of the website. It was divulged that the majority of Madāris students were desirous of a permanent block of YouTube in Pakistan while the University students held contrary view of blocking of YouTube forever. In comparison of Madāris students as explored that every third university student was accessing the website while relying on the proxy server in order to unblocked YouTube. The Results showed that majority of respondents from both type of educational institutes were alive to the reason of banning of the social website. But only a few viewers watched the controversial and blasphemous video. As findings of the study indicated this point of agreement between the university students with modern outlook and the Madāris students with orthodox approach regarding zero tolerance against uploading and sharing of blasphemous contents on the social networking websites.

Keywords: YouTube, university students, deeni Madāris, social websites, perceptions Ban, Blasphemous video, Unblocking, Pakistan, Proxy Servers, uses and gratification.

Introduction:

Social media is now an important medium of mass media. The newspapers are now replaced by the E-papers and textual form of information is not just enough. People now explore the social media websites for information and entertainment. Viewers want more credibility through video links of events. YouTube is the most visited VOD website and internet traffic on YouTube is ranked highest from many years. YouTube ban in Pakistan creates a hurdle in access of video content. The website banned in September 2012 when a blasphemous content was uploaded on the website. Muslim world protest against the content in all over the world and Pakistan banned YouTube. After the ban exposure to video content especially the exposure of Pakistani youth was decreased because the site was the most visited

Website to explore videos and maximum video data from Pakistan was uploaded on this site because of its easy and effective operating system. Apparently Government is failed to negotiate with YouTube authorities to remove the controversial video and to unblock YouTube in Pakistan.

YouTube and its operating system:

YouTube developed in 2005 and now it is the most famous video sharing website of internet. Today YouTube contain approximately 20% of all HTTP traffic, and 10% of total

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internet traffic. Recommendation system of YouTube is much better than any other video sharing website which creates a co-relation between videos and increase their viewership with peer to peer distribution schemes to efficiently deliver videos with users.¹

YouTube is a popular service which allows distribution of user's production media. It is different service from the existing traditional VOD services, because traditional services provided limited space and ways to create new content. YouTube had equally popularity in global and local level.²

Love it or hate it YouTube is now a valuable part of mainstream media landscape and part of population. It is not only a video sharing website. It contain a diverse range of contents. Western world make it useful for understanding the evolving relationship between new media technologies. The contributors who are uploading or downloading the content are a diverse group of participants. It has share from large media productions, sports companies and major advertisers. YouTube is a dynamic cultural system and a site of participatory culture. It was founded by Chad Hurley, Steve Chen and Jawed Karim. All those were employees of online commerce website pay poll. YouTube was one of competing services which aims to technological barriers of widespread sharing videos. YouTube provides the technological strong and easy to use software to upload publish and save video contents.³

The popular video sharing web site has become an enormously popular form of web 2.0 new media. According to the recent article of wired averaged that approximately 65,000 videos uploaded and 100 million videos viewed per day. When we talk about its characteristics it has a wide variety of video content including movies and TV clips of music and video, as well as having video blogs and short original videos. The unregistered users can only watch the videos but registered can users can upload the content. YouTube shows a flag on the video which have an inappropriate content. A title of the video and key world uploaded by the up loader and a channel to whom video is related and the recommended videos. It also shows the numbers of viewers, rating in stars and numbers of likes.⁴

Banning of Social Media in different Countries and Reasons:

In many countries different social media websites and social networking servers are banned due to different reasons. North Korea, china, turkey, Iran, Vietnam and Pakistan are countries where different social networking media were banned in different times due to different reasons. YouTube, face book, and twitter are banned in Iran from 2009. Later face book and twitter opened but not YouTube. The reason of the ban was to limit the communication after presidential elections. Face book, twitter and YouTube are also banned in North Korea from the time when North Korea had the internet. The reason of blocking is to limit the communication of citizen and to control their communication. YouTube, twitter and face book are banned in China from 2009. And still these are banned in china, Because of a protest of Uighers (The Muslim ethnic minority of Xinjiang.)Face book is banned in Vietnam from November 2009. The ban is unofficial and government denies about the blockage of face book, but people have trouble to access face book. YouTube is banned in Pakistan from September 2012 and it is still ban. The reason of the ban was a blasphemous and controversial trailer of the film "the Innocence of the Muslims" which was uploaded on the site. YouTube blocked in Turkey in March 2014. Twitter was blocked in March 2014 for two weeks. The reason of the banning was to minimize the sharing and communication about government corruption before 2014 elections.

Social media is not now just a place to share the pictures of cats. The uprising of Egypt and

Ukraine issues approved that now it is a place where from revolution can be started. The states and the governments are now thinking to minimize the social media to control the public sharing.⁵

Banning of YouTube in different Countries:

1 Brazil: has had a nationwide YouTube ban due to a court order in 2007. The offending clip this time was Daniela Cicarelli's sexual stunt on the beach, and this Brazilian model insisted that the clip should either be fully removed (and users stopped from reposting it) or that YouTube should be banned altogether. YouTube was banned for a while, but the ban was removed relatively quickly.

2 Turkey: court ordered to ban YouTube because of the videos against Turkishness and against the Ataturk. And the other reason was the videos which alleged the corruption of current prime minister.

3 Germany: banned YouTube in 2009 due to some video clips having labeled music background which were removed from YouTube later.

4 Libya: banned in 2010 because of the video against government and videos of Kadafi's family parties. YouTube were restored in 2012 after kadafi.

5 Thailand: bane was due to a 44 second slideshow which contains the defaced photos of Thailand's king. The bane remained 5 months in 2007.

6 Turkmenistan: banned YouTube in 2009 due to antigovernment videos upload. Passports were demanded in internet café's to use these blocked sites.

7 China: due to minorities protest and erotic materials, Banned from 2007.

8 North Korea: only few cities of Korea having the access of YouTube. Other cities have their local internet which is called "kawaneyoung with 1000 sites- there is no YouTube.

9 Iran: banned in 2009 because of a protest against the presidential election. Iran has an alternative web which is called "Mehr" to permute the Iranian cultural through videos.

10 Pakistan: government banned YouTube in 2012 due to the blasphemous film "The innocence of the Muslims". Pakistan was only country how banned YouTube due to anti-Islamic clip. In 2012 Pakistani government appealed to whole Muslim world to globally protest for the removal of video.⁶

YouTube and Pakistan Government:

YouTube was banned in 2012 under the government of PPP now it is a headache for PML-N. Information minister talk about unblocking of YouTube in National assembly. Government has refused to tackle this problem seriously. A petition was filed in Lahore high court but government officials were not present in court. YouTube representative visited Pakistan three times after banning but information minister refused to meet him. YouTube refused Pakistan's demand to remove the video but they offered a warning page before the specific blasphemous video in the whole world. Google also offered to remove the copy videos in future if Pakistan identify.⁷

Pakistan banned YouTube due to protests against blasphemous film and YouTube administration. When Google refused to block YouTube people of Pakistan came to roads and large protests started. 20 people died in protests. 2 cinemas were fired. Mob also attacked at American embassy in Islamabad. Pakistan also banned many other sites in which minorities hate speech was uploaded. The liberation movement of Baluchistan related

content was also banned. Some extremist religious parties launched a movement for “khilafat” in Pakistan; this movement was also blocked by PTA.⁸

Human rights groups criticize Pakistan strict censorship policy on social media especially after the bane of YouTube in September 2012. Pakistani masses use uninterrupted access to YouTube from proxy servers, but for many Pakistanis it is a futile exercise. Approximately Pakistani authorities blocked 30,000 websites. HRCF claimed YouTube is banned in Pakistani but access to extreme islamist and jihadist websites are easy which also have the content of hate speeches.⁹

Innocence of Muslims Film:

Innocence of Muslims is a 14 minutes film directed produced by Naukolabessley Naukola. The film first uploaded to YouTube and protests start across the Middle East because the unfavorable depiction of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) as a pedophile. The film was blamed by the Obama office as the driving force for attacks on American consulates in Benghazi and Libya that killed four Americans. The actress submitted a petition in court against Google who owned YouTube, to remove the video because in agreement the production unit of the film not mentioned the purpose of the film. She claimed that the anti-Islamic angle was giving to movie in post-production and the dialogues were dubbed.¹⁰

Objectives of the study:

- 1: To evaluate the comparison of consumption among University and Madāris students.
- 2: To explore the alternative sources used by the youth in post YouTube era.
- 3: To find out the effect of the ban on video viewing habits of the youth.
- 4: To explore perception of Pakistani youth on the banning of social networking websites.

Review of Literature:

Keelan and associates (2007) stated that YouTube is a video sharing internet website developed in 2005 that provided video streaming, and it is a big source of information about health care and immunization. The site allows sharing multiple videos. Which contain the information related with benefits and risks of immunization? Researchers found the videos which contain any message about the immunization and vaccination in English language. They extracted the information related with the length of clip, type of video, count the viewers and hits on videos and viewers and review the stars of video. They analyzed 153 videos. The videos which contain positive messages regarding immunization were considered positive.

Cheng (2008) argued that YouTube has become the most successful site of short videos sharing since it was created in 2005. It affects the traffic of internet a lot now it is facing the problem of scalability. To study this problem researchers understand the characteristics of YouTube and all related websites and collected four months data of YouTube which contain more than 3 million videos. Than researchers found statistics of these videos and compare with traditional old video sharing webs. They judge all the patterns, ranging, social networking, the researchers found the link related with any video and also found that videos of one category have strong correlation.

Baliya et al (2008) stated that YouTube provide a wide potential to the user to find the content of their interest. The suggestions discovered new interesting and related videos for the users. The researchers analyzed the suggested videos. The results show that a suggestion of related content is effective propagation through a variety of still graphs of videos. The

results termed as the “Adsorption” and researchers extensively analyze the recommendations on a 3 months snap shot of live data from YouTube.

Gueorguieva (2007) analyzed YouTube and my space in election Compiegne. He stated that this is a simple but significant way used to substantial the segment of US voting age population. This is a way to create volunteer from the driven generation of US. By this candidate can increase their exposure in a low cast. The messages and images of the candidate can be spread through YouTube and my space in an easy and short way which is critically important in outcomes of education. The article discusses the benefiter of the usage of YouTube and My Space in 2006 Election.

Lange (2007) analyzed the YouTube users and their developed and maintained relation with different ethnographic groups. He analyzed how circulating and sharing of videos reflects different social relationship among youth. He identifies public-ness in video sharing. Some video sharing participants exhibited “publicly private” behavior in which video makers identification remain revealed and the content is also not widely accessed.

Ache and Wallace (2008) stated that there is a large number of populations who regularly research information about health on internet especially on YouTube. People retrieve and share health information from YouTube. Researchers analyzed that how many papillomavirus (HPV) vaccinations was in video clip of YouTube and how many viewed that and comment on them. Researchers found video clips by searching the term “Gardasil” cancer vaccination and HPV and noted their viewership and comments. A total 146 clips were analyzed 74.7% clips portrayed HPV vaccination and 32.2% were had at least one comment. The concluded that there is a wide variety of health information on YouTube, but there is a need of medical professionals to bitterly respond patients via YouTube.

Finamore et al (2011) compared the YouTube traffic generated by the mobile device with the traffic generated by the PC's. Researchers examined the behaviors of both users. They measured data collected from vantage points in national wide ISP's and university campuses of American and European countries. The results show that the using pattern of different locations and from different technologies is same. For example users not change the resolution and rarely use full screen. Overall the usage from both technologies is accesses but the transformation from PC's and downloading content are more than the mobile devices.

Pandey and his associates (2009) analyzed 142 videos of YouTube by searching the term “H1N1 influenza” and collect data of 3 months and found that 61.3% videos had the useful information about the diseases where misleading content were of 23% . Viewers who share useful content were 70.5% and who share misinformed videos were 17.5% researcher concluded with that remarks that YouTube has a substantial amount of useful information about the “H1N1 influenza”

Mullen and Wedwick (2010) examined rural middle school teacher's use of YouTube for digital stories, blogs and language art curriculum. Researchers also included the voices of the students which use and learn from the technology in class rooms. The researchers concluded that use of YouTube technology in classrooms is easy method for both users and learners.

Gill and associates (2007) examined the YouTube traffic characterization of the popular videos. They download more than 600,000 videos and monitor their worldwide popularity of that time. They examined the referring characteristics, patterns and file properties. They also compare all these and YouTube transfer behavior with traditional web and media streaming characteristics. They concluded with finding that YouTube core server

infrastructure provide fast and better caching rather than the traditional webs of videos.

Zhou and associates (2010) argued that YouTube offer the viewers a variety of videos their interest. The recommendation system, front page highlights and video search drive the popularity of the video. YouTube is the number one source of views in aggregation. There is a strong co-relation between the view count of a video and view counts of related videos. Researchers also noted that hits of a video directly related with the number of hits of the recommended video hits. They concluded that the YouTube currently recommendation system increase the diversity and popularity of video viewing in aggregation.

Uses and gratification analysis:

Edward(1998) States that media user play an important role in choosing and using the media contents. Users are goal oriented in using of media. Users seek the best media source which fulfills the needs. We can say that what people do with media rather what media does with people. It deals with how people use media to fulfill their needs. Consumers have a free will to use the media and how it will affect them.

Hypotheses:

The following hypotheses were developed in order to explore perception of the university and Madāris students with the help of pilot studies and review of the relevant studies.

H1: Madāris students would like to further continuation of ban on YouTube in comparison of university students.

H2: It is more likely that majority of the university users prefer to consume more entertainment contents on YouTube in comparison of other genre in comparison of Madāris students

H3: It is more likely that University Students would use more Proxy servers to Explore YouTube as compared to Madāris students.

H4: It is more likely that University students would consume more time on YouTube as compared to Madāris users.

H5: Most of the users would be fully aware about the reasons of YouTube ban in Pakistan.

Methodology:

This study primarily relied on the survey method to explore perception of university and Madāris students regarding the banning of YouTube in Pakistan.

Research Design:

In this connection, administering survey questionnaire technique as a research design was used for purpose of the research.

Population:

The students users of YouTube from 18 years to 30 years of Bahauddin Zakariya University Multan and Madāris were taken as population of the study. The University has been divided into 2 basic units; 1. Basic and natural sciences 2. Social Sciences, Arts and Languages. Likewise the Madāris of Ahl e Sunnat sect including the sub sects of Deoband and Barailvi from Multan were selected, and the students of Jami'ah Qāsim al 'Ulūm, Anwār al-Islām, Madarsah 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, Maẓāhir al-'Ulūm, Jami'ah Ṣiddiq e-Akbar, Centre of Islamic Studies, BZU, Jami'ah Ibn e Qāsim and Jami'ah Ṣādiq al-Zamān were chosen as respondents.

Sample:

The sample comprised of 200 respondents, in this connection, the sample 100 Students

each from Bahaddin Zakariya University and Madāris of Multan region were selected by using the technique of purposive sampling for collection of data. Furthermore, the breakup of the sample frame as 50 sample from basic and natural sciences(25 males 25 females) 50 young users from social sciences and arts (25 males 25 females) and 20 Students from each Madarsah were selected for the study.

Data collection instrument:

In order to measure the perception of the selected respondents a questionnaire for the collection of Data was designed. The questionnaire was comprised of 15 close ended questions in order to divulge the perspectives of students of university and Madāris on YouTube ban. To minimize the Language barrier, questionnaire was translated in Urdu language for simplification.

Pre testing Questionnaire:

Before administering the survey on wholesome basis, pilot study was conducted for pre testing of the questionnaire and gathered the data from 10 Students each from the university and Madāris. In light of the pilot study, the questionnaire was further refined.

Results:

The major findings of the study are as under:

1. YouTube Consumption:

	Daily	Weekly	Monthly	Occasionally
University students	36 (18%)	22 (11%)	6 (3%)	36 (18%)
Madāris students	12(6%)	8(4%)	12(6%)	68(34%)
Total	48(24%)	30(15%)	18(9%)	104(52%)

Table 1 shows that 48 out of 200 respondents consumed YouTube Daily in which 36 are from university and 12 are from Madāris. Similarly table also shows that 30 respondents out of 200 respondent uses YouTube weekly in which 22 respondents are from university and 8 are from Madāris. While 18 out of 200 consume YouTube Monthly. 104 out of 200 use YouTube Occasionally.

2. Purpose of Usage:

	Entertainment	Information	Academic	Other
University students	72(36%)	24 (12%)	2 (1%)	2 (1%)
Madāris students	34(17%)	28(14%)	22(11%)	22(11%)
Total	106(53%)	52(26%)	24(12%)	24(12%)

Table 2 shows that 106 respondents out of 200 respondents use YouTube for Entertainment in which 72 are from university and 34 are from Madāris. Table also shows that 52 respondents out of 200 respondent use YouTube for information purpose in which 24 respondents are from university and 28 are from Madāris. While 24 out of 200 consume YouTube for Academic purpose and 24 uses for other purposes.

3. Usage of alternative websites:

	Vimeo	Daily Motion	Tunepk	Other	None
University students	4 (2%)	60 (30%)	4 (2%)	6(3%)	26 (13%)
Madāris students	2(1%)	54 (27%)	10 (5%)	26 (13%)	14 (7%)

Total	6 (3%)	114 (57%)	14(7%)	32(16%)	40(20%)
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Table 3 shows that 6 out of 200 respondents use vimeo as alternative of YouTube in which 4 are University Students. 114 respondents out of 200 respondent use Daily motion 60 respondents are from university and 54 are from Madāris. While 14 out of 200 use Tune.pk. 32 out of 200 use other websites and 40 use none of the alternative.

4. Exposure to video Content after YouTube:

	Yes	No
University Students	56 (28%)	44 (22%)
Madāris Students	12 (6%)	88 (44%)
Total	68 (34%)	132 (66%)

Table 4 shows that 68 respondents out of 200 respondents explore YouTube content on internet after YouTube ban. Table also shows that 132 respondents out of 200 respondents left exposure of video content after YouTube ban. 44 respondents are University students while 88 are Madāris Students.

5. Which proxy servers are using:

	Hotspot	Newip	Blewpass	Proxify	Others	None
University students	27 (13.5%)	8 (4%)	2 (1%)	5 (2.5%)	36(18%)	22(11%)
Madāris students	52 (26%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	3 (1.5%)	18(9%)	27(13.5%)
Total	79 (39.5%)	8 (4%)	2 (1%)	8(4%)	54(27%)	49(24%)

Table 5 shows that 79 out of 200 respondents are using hotspot shield as proxy server to explore YouTube, in which 27 are University students and 52 are Madāris students. 8 are using Newip proxy server. 2 respondents out of 200 respondents are using Blewpass. While 8 out of 200 are using proxy. 49 out of 200 are not using any proxy server to explore the YouTube.

6. Viewing of Innocence of Muslim:

	Yes	No
University students	14 (7%)	86 (43%)
Madāris students	0(0%)	100(50%)
Total	14 (7%)	186 (93%)

Table 6 shows that 14 respondents out of 200 respondents watched the movie innocence of the Muslims who is the cause of YouTube ban in Pakistan. The Total 14 viewers are university students. 186 respondents out of 200 respondents did not watch that movie.

7. YouTube Unblocking:

	Yes	No
University students	42 (21%)	58 (29%)
Madāris students	1 (0.5%)	99(49.5%)
Total	43 (21.5%)	157 (78.5%)

Table 7 shows that 43 respondents out of 200 respondents are in favor of YouTube unblocking, in respondents 42 are University students and only 1 respondent is from Madarsah. 157 respondents out of 200 respondents are not in favor of YouTube unblocking. 99 respondents are from Madāris and 58 are B. Z. University students.

8. Indefinite ban of YouTube:

	Yes	No
University students	19 (9.5%)	81 (40.5%)
Madāris students	91 (45.5%)	9 (4.5%)
Total	110 (55%)	90 (45%)

Table 8 shows that 110 respondents out of 200 respondents are prefer a lifetime ban of YouTube ban in Pakistan, 19 are University students and 91respondents are from Madāris. 90 respondents out of 200 respondents do not prefer lifetime ban of YouTube in Pakistan, 81 respondents are from University and 9 are from Madāris.

Discussion:

This study explored the perception of 200 respondents from the university and Madāris regarding banning of YouTube in Pakistan. The five hypotheses were developed with the help of pilot study and the review of relevant literature. The first hypothesis stated that Madāris students would like to further continuation of ban on YouTube in comparison of university students. The data supported the hypothesis as only 1% of Madāris students were desirous of unblocking of YouTube and more than 90% Madāris students were in support of lifetime ban of YouTube. (See table 6&7 for further details). The second hypothesis predicted that majority of the university users prefer to consume more entertainment contents on YouTube than other genre as compared to Madāris students. This assumption was also supported as 36 percent the university users explored the entertainment contents on YouTube as compare to other type of contents while the ratio of Madāris students were found 17 percent in this context. (See Table 2 for further details). The third hypothesis was based on this presumption that University students would use more Proxy servers to Explore YouTube as compared to Madras Students. The data supported this assumption too as 75.5% mainstream students used proxy servers for exploring the video content on YouTube in comparison of Madāris students. (See table 5 for further details). While the fourth assumption predicted that University Students would consume more time on YouTube as compare to Madāris users. It was supported as 36% of University Students use YouTube daily and 22% use weekly while just six percent Madāris students were consuming this website on daily basis . (See table 1). The last hypothesis predicted that most of the users would be fully aware about the reasons of YouTube ban in Pakistan” It was strongly supported as overwhelming majority of 80% users irrespective of mainstream or Madāris students were fully alive to why the website was banned. Another significant findings was explored that nominal users of less than one tenth of the respondents viewed the blasphemous and controversial film. See graph 1 for further details.

It is significant to mention here in light of the survey findings that majority of the university students were in favor of suspension of the ban on access of YouTube while the overwhelming majority of the Madāris students were appreciative of the government decision of ban on the website for indefinite time period. They were of the view such website which disseminate objectionable blasphemous and immoral contents or any other contents which is repugnant to fundamental principles of Holy Quran and Sunnah of Prophet Muhammad SAW. In the light of above findings the researchers has come to know that YouTube ban is a hurdle in accessing of video content. While the perception of the university students was comparatively opposite in this context coupled with moderate and pluralistic approaches. They were also not satisfied with speed, quality and diversity of the video contents available on other alternative websites.

They were of this opinion that due to ban on YouTube it was an uphill task for them to prepare their academic or research bases assignments relying on video support. On the other hand the Madāris students were least bother to convince on such argument. For them, in order to imbibe the pearls of knowledge from Holy Quran and Sunnah the ban on the website was not a stumbling block in any case. As they expressed their views in categorically manners that Muslims have been imparting religious education for the fourteen hundred years. The role of technology based on computer mediated communication was not as significant in preaching or dissemination of Islam around the globe.

Conclusion:

As we are aware that on uploading and sharing of controversial and blasphemous movie “innocence of the Muslim” YouTube was banned in Pakistan. This website has been used on larger scale by the majority of mainstream youth for accessing all type of genre available on YouTube. Despite of the ban, this website is still being used by the mainstream students while relying on proxy servers in order to access YouTube. It is interesting but not eccentric as majority of the university students were neither desirous of watching blasphemous contents or uploading or sharing of the videos against Islamic values. As findings of the study substantively proved this point of agreement between the university students with modern outlook and the Madāris students with orthodox approach as both the group expressed zero tolerance against sharing of blasphemous contents through computer mediated communication or any other form of transmission. The image of Pakistan is not good in world. World considered Pakistanis as extremist, terrorist and fundamentalist. In their view indefinite ban on the website would further tarnish the image of Pakistan and Islam as well. The majority of the respondents from the mainstream belonging to academic circle suggested by considering present scenario of geopolitical situation of Pakistan and Islamic world specially during the last fifteen years in the wake of tragic incident of September eleven; it is need of the hour to unblock the website so that the positive and constructive uploading and sharing of videos for building soft image of Pakistan and erase misperception about Islam. Likewise it would be handy and lucrative for the promotion of tourism industry and to disseminate videos about social and cultural spheres of Pakistani society. It was also proposed that the present regime of Mr. Nawaz Sharif should chalk out modalities with you tube administration to remove such contents as early as possible. Finally the government should take immediate decision to lift the ban on the website. By doing so the overall ranking of Pakistan would be improved in the context of freedom of speech and media yet the point of view of the Madāris students were contrary with regard to lifting of the ban.

Endnotes

¹ Cheng, 2007.

² Zink, 2008.

³ Burgess, 2009.

⁴ Godwin, 2007.

⁵ Bennett, 2014.

⁶ All Times.

⁷ Haque, 2014.

⁸ Sidique, 2013.

⁹ Lovett and Duffau, 2014.

¹⁰ Hartman, 2014.